

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3960

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 26141

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: SGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, UF, FR, CSCE

SUBJECT: SENIOR QUAI APPRAISAL Giscard's MOSCOW TRIP

REF: PARIS 25418

1. SUMMARY: QUAI'S DIRECTOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS CON-FIRMS CSCE AND BILATERAL ISSUES LIKELY TO DOMINATE Giscard's MOSCOW VISIT, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS ARE PUSHING THEME OF MILITARY DETENTE. END SUMMARY.

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2. ANDREANI (QUAI DIRECTOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS) PROVIDED US OPPORTUNITY DISCUSS PREPARATIONS GISCARD'S MOSCOW TRIP PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR USSR WITH QUAI'S ADVANCE PARTY. ANDREANI LARGEY CONFIRMED OUR EARLIER IMPRESSIONS (REFTEL). HE TOO STRESSED THAT THIS WAS "ONLY IN PART" A WORKING VISIT; THAT TIME FOR REAL DISCUSSIONS WITH BREZHNEV AND OTHER SOVIET LEADERS WOULD BE BRIEF; AND THAT GISCARD WOULD DEVOTE GOOD DEAL OF EFFORT TO PROTOCOLARY EVENTS INCLUDINQ HIS VISIT TO KIEV, TO TOLSTOY'S HOME AND, INTERESTINGLY, TO THE BATTLE FIELD OF BORODINO.

3. INDEED, EVEN PREPARATIONS FOR VISIT AT THIS LATE DATE ARE STILL NOT VERY FAR ADVANCED BEYOND STATE OF AFFAIRS DESCRIBED REFTEL. THUS, ON PROCEDURAL SIDE DETAILS HAVE NOT YET BEEN COMPLETELY WORKED OUT, PARTICULARLY AS TO EXTENT AND DURATION GISCARD'S MEETINGS WITH BREZHNEV. ANDREANI WOULD NOT SAY THAT THESE UNCERTAINTIES ARE RELATED TO ANY RENEWED DIFFICULTIES WITH BREZHNEV'S HEALTH. ON OTHER HAND, THIS THOUGHT HAS CLEARLY OCCURRED TO SOME AT QUAI CONCERNED WITH PREPARATIONS OF THIS VISIT.

4. ON OTHER HAND ANDREANI CONFIRMED THAT SOME FRENCH-SOVIET SUBSTANTIVE CONTACTS HAVE NOW TAKEN PLACE. HOWEVER, THESE HAVE NOT PRODUCED ANY NEW, OVERRIDING ISSUES LIKELY TO DOMINATE EITHER THE VISIT OR ITS AFTERMATH. AS A RESULT CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND BI-LATERAL RELATIONS ARE MOST LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO DOMINATE BY DEFAULT. ANDREANI PROVIDED FOLLOWING ON MORE SPECIFIC POINTS, UPDATING MATERIAL PREVIOUSLY REPORTED.

5. CSCE

IN RESPONSE TO VERBOSE SOVIET CSCE DRAFT QUAI HAS NOW PRODUCED SHORTER COUNTER-DRAFT SUITABLE FOR INCLUSION IN COMMUNIQUE OR AS A PARALLEL TEXT. ANDREANI SAID PROPOSED FRENCH FORMULATION GENERALLY FOLLOWS MODEL SET BY THE FRANCO-POLISH CSCE TEXT ISSUED DURING GISCARD'S

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VISIT THERE LAST JUNE BUT, UNLIKE THAT TEXT, COVERS ALL THREE BASKETS. FRENCH PROPOSAL REITERATES WITH RESPECT TO EACH SECTION OF THE FINAL ACT, THE INTENTION OF THE PARTIES TO ADHERE CLOSELY TO ITS PROVISIONS. IT THEN FOCUSES ON SEVERAL MORE SPECIFIC ASPECTS, I.E. OF IMPROVING BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS UNDER TERMS OF BASKET II. HOWEVER, EMPHASIS OF FRENCH DRAFT IS CLEARLY ON BASKET III, WHERE IT CALLS FOR SPECIFIC

EFFORTS TO AMELIORATE HUMAN CONTACTS (PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO FAMILY CONTACTS AND MARRIAGES) TO IMPROVE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND TO FACILITATE THE WORK OF JOURNALISTS, INTER ALIA THROUGH MULTIPLE VISAS.
ANDREANI HAD NO DOUBT THAT LAST-MINUTE NEGOTIATIONS THESE TEXTS, IN WHICH DUBININ WILL BE SOVIET COUNTER-PART, WILL BE DIFFICULT. HOWEVER, ANDREANI SAID QUAI DOES EXPECT SOMETHING CLOSE TO FRENCH FORMULATION TO EMERGE, FOR SIMPLE REASON THAT SOVIET VERSION WAS

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CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE.

6. MILITARY DETENTE.

ANDREANI CONFIRMED AGAIN THAT USSR WAS PUSHING FOR EMPHASIS IN THE COMMUNIQUE ON THEIR NEW THEME OF "MILITARY DETENTE." IN THIS CONNECTION HE THOUGHT MOSCOW MIGHT RAISE ISSUE OF FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN MBFR BUT SAID FLATLY THAT THEY WOULD NOT SUCCEED. FRENCH WOULD SAY THEY REMAIN OUTSIDE OF NATO'S INTEREST
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GRATED COMMAND STRUCTURE AND REMAIN DUBIOUS ABOUT DESIRABILITY OF PURSUING MBFR PROCESS AT THIS STAGE AND UNDER TERMS CURRENTLY ENVISAGED.

SOVIETS ALSO LIKELY TO RAISE THEIR NEW GLOBAL DIS-ARMAMENT PROJECTS, INCLUDING IDEA OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, THEIR UN PROJECT FOR BANNING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AS WELL AS A PROPOSAL TO BAN RESEARCH FOR WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. ANDREANI RECOGNIZED THAT FRENCH WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFUL AS TO PRECISE FORMULATIONS SOVIETS MIGHT WANT TO PUT IN COMMUNIQUE ON THESE SUBJECTS, BUT THOUGHT THAT SOME VERY GENERAL ALLUSIONS ALONG THESE LINES MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE. ANDREANI ALSO EXPECTS SOVIETS TO PRESS FRENCH FOR BI-LATERAL STATEMENT REGARDING NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS ISSUES. ANDREANI SAID FRENCH WOULD RESIST THIS TO KEEP ISSUE CLEARLY IN MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK IN WHICH IT IS BEING DISCUSSED.

7. BILATERAL ISSUES.

GIVEN UNSPECTACULAR CHARACTER MOST OF THESE SUBJECTS, ANDREANI TOO THOUGHT THAT MUCH OF VISIT WOULD FOCUS ON BILATERAL MATTERS. HOWEVER, ONLY TWO SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS ARE LIKELY TO EMERGE: ONE ON AVIATION AND ONE ON ENERGY. BOTH WOULD BE BROAD FRAMEWORK AGREEMENTS OF TYPE FRENCH HAVE NEGOTIATED WITH THE RUSSIANS ON OTHER SUBJECTS IN THE PAST. IN THIS CONNECTION ANDREANI SAID QUAI HAD BECOME INCREASINGLY AWARE THAT SOVIET INTEREST IN THESE AGREEMENTS STEMS PARTLY FROM THEIR INCREASING DESIRE TO BREAK OUT OF CONFINES OF FRENCH-USSR MIXED COMMISSIONS, IN WHICH IMPLEMENTATION OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS IS OFFICIALLY DISCUSSED. SOVIETS PREDICTABLY PREFER TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES OR ORGANIZATIONS TO BYPASS FRENCH BUREAUCRACY TO EXTENT POSSIBLE. ALTHOUGH FRENCH PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE GENERAL AGREEMENTS, QUAI WILL BE

CAREFUL TO MAKE SURE THAT MIXED COMMISSIONS REMAIN
FOCUS OF BILATERAL FUNCTIONAL RELATIONS.

8. ANDREANI DID NOT ELABORATE FURTHER ON SPECIFIC
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BILATERAL THEMES LISTED PARA 6 REFTEL. HE DID IMPLY
THAT SOVIET INTEREST IN FRENCH-SOVIET AIRPLANE PRO-
DUCTION PROJECT REFERRED TO A CONVENTIONAL PLANE MODEL
AND WAS NOT AIMED AT JOINT PRODUCTION OF SUPERSONIC
PASSENGER JETS. HE TOO DOUBTED THIS PROJECT WAS
LIKELY TO SUCCEED AND SUGGESTED FRENCH WOULD PREFER
SELL SOVIETS OTHER TYPES OF AVIATION TECHNOLOGY.

9. AS FOR ENERGY, ANDREANI EXPLAINED SOVIETS WERE
INTERESTED IN SELLING OIL TO FRANCE, SINCE THEY NOW
HAVE SURPLUS. FRENCH WERE RECEPTIVE IN PRINCIPLE.
HOWEVER SUCH A DEAL WOULD BE RELATED TO, BUT SEPARATE
FROM OIL DRILLING TECHNOLOGY DISCUSSION REFERRED TO
REFTEL. ANDREANI CONFIRMED THAT LATTER HAD ENCOUNTERED
DIFFICULTIES LARGEMLY BECAUSE SOVIETS DID NOT WANT
FRENCH TECHNICIANS TO GO WITH EQUIPMENT TO USSR.
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